SOURCES OF EARLY ENGLISH PAPER-SUPPLY

By EDWARD HEAWOOD

CCASIONS may arise when bibliographical or other literary problems might be solved, if not with certainty, at least with high probability, by knowing the source of supply of the paper used for the books or documents in question. Without entering into details, a few instances of such occasions may be given. A book may be rather doubtfully assigned to a particular English press, the alternative being (say) a press in the north of France. The paper used is one often found in English books, and this might seem to strengthen the case for the English press, on the supposition that such paper was of English make. But if it can be shown that the paper was probably made in France for the English market the argument loses much of its force. Sometimes it may be more important to know whether a given paper was commonly used in this country than to know its place of origin, e.g. if a document supposed to be written or printed in England proves to be on Italian paper, this need not argue against the supposition if we know that such Italian paper was in common use in England at the time. Conversely, the belief that an English document was written during its author's residence abroad is certainly strengthened if we know, not only that the paper is foreign, but that it is of a kind rarely met with in this country. To take another case, if we find a book, in which a single leaf (especially if a plate or title-page) is on totally different paper from the rest of the volume, it is natural to suspect a fake, unless the history of the copy in question is known for a good many years. And the suspicion will gain force if we discover that the paper was made in a part of Ger-

many (say) from which we are most unlikely to have drawn our supplies. Lastly, to the student of old bindings a knowledge of such matters is obviously of great importance, contemporary end-papers being a valuable aid towards attributing the binding to a particular country, region, or period, as has been shown more than once in recent works of Mr. G. D. Hobson.

The information given in many of the foreign works on paper-marks, particularly Briquet's, may be sufficient to solve such questions if an English origin is not a possibility, but as most of these pay no attention to English books or documents, they give no help in questions relating to such. It is therefore to papers used in this country that attention is confined in the following notes. Unfortunately, the place of origin of early foreign papers cannot always be definitely established, even with the aid of Briquet, Le Clert, and others, whilst such aid is, to a great extent, lacking for dates after 1600; and so scanty is the information on early English paper-making that the attribution of a seventeenth-century paper to an English or foreign source must involve a good deal of guess-work. Further research on the subject is thus greatly to be desired.

Papers used in Great Britain before 1500

Having studied old paper principally in the library of the Royal Geographical Society, which possesses few incunabula and those mostly foreign, I cannot claim to speak on the earliest period from first-hand knowledge, except to a very limited extent. But a good deal of scattered information already exists, which if brought together and analysed may supply some useful indications. The most valuable data are perhaps the figures of paper-marks occurring in the Paston letters, given by Sir John Fenn in the first printed edition of the letters. Written on from various places through an extended period, the papers may be regarded as fairly representative of those in general use in this country in early days. Next may be placed the copies of

marks, especially those from books printed by Caxton, given by Sotheby in his *Principia Typografica*, and in the monumental series of manuscript volumes brought together by him and his father, and now in the British Museum, though the latter are concerned mainly with the marks in foreign documents. Even when he gives copies of marks found by him in the Tower, Sotheby is unfortunately not explicit as to the place from which the letters or other documents were written, though when the recipients are English it is probable that the documents also originated in England in the majority of cases. Many of Sotheby's conclusions were vitiated by his theories on the origins of printing, which coloured his views on other issues too. He is too ready to suppose that the common use of certain papers in this or other countries implies that they were made in the respective countries, and he puts down the Netherlands as the chief source of our early supply (as well as of the French) although there is no evidence at all of the existence of paper-mills there in the period in question. But his actual data can still be used with advantage.

A third source is the communication by Hunter printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvii, 1857, pp. 447 sqq., which is accompanied by drawings of early marks found on English documents written either in England or in the parts of France then under English sway. Hunter made some judicious remarks on the possible origins of the papers and suggested that further study might elucidate the course of the paper-trade in those days. But his hints have never been followed up very seriously in this country. He noted the similarity of the paper used in England and at Bordeaux, but left it uncertain whether this was due to a common source of supply or to our use of French paper. The former alternative is now known to be in most cases the true explanation.

Another fairly extensive collection of early marks is that made by Mr. R. Lemon, of the Record Office, and reproduced

in Scott and Davey's *Guide to the Collector of Historical Documents* (1891). But for our present purpose its value is reduced by the failure to state explicitly where the documents drawn upon were written. A more important source, which would no doubt repay detailed analysis, is the fine collection of watermark tracings made by Mr. M. Beazeley from MSS. in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, and now in the British Museum. The greater number, however, are of dates after 1500, and the earlier marks are on the whole similar to those otherwise recorded.

These sources are to some extent checked and supplemented by my own data, or those kindly sent me by correspondents. At Durham I was recently allowed to inspect some of the oldest letters written on paper preserved in the Chapter archives and was able to make drawings of, or notes on, some thirty marks in these. I have also to thank Prof. J. H. Baxter, of St. Andrews University, for copies of marks occurring in an old letter-book kept by the Prior there between 1418 and 1441, to be shortly printed for the University of St. Andrews by Humphrey Milford; and Mr. W. A. Churchill for marks from English incunabula. The record of early marks might be indefinitely extended by research in the Record Office and elsewhere, but the material mentioned may suffice to indicate papers in more general use in England before 1500. All the more important marks are listed below, with indications (*a*) of occurrences in this country; (*b*) of Briquet's record of similar marks abroad; (*c*) of deductions by Briquet, Le Clert, and others, as to the places in which the papers were made. It will be seen that sometimes the actual mill can be identified, as in the case of a mark found in Caxton's *Canterbury Tales* (a shield bearing the name Lile, surmounted by a fleur de lis). On the other hand, it must be remembered that the assignments are sometimes only conjectural, based on the areas in which the marks are chiefly found.

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LIST OF MARKS FOUND IN ENGLISH DOCUMENTS DOWN TO 1500

References. 'B.' stands for Briquet's great work *Les Filigranes* (4 vols., 4to, Paris, 1907), and is followed by references to his figures. 'Le Clert' refers to *Le Papier* (2 vols., folio, Paris, 1928, paged continuously). 'Hunter', to his article in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvii. 'Sotheby *Principia*,' to *Principia Typographica* (3 vols., folio, 1858). 'Sotheby tracings,' to the two volumes of marks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the great collection now in the British Museum (Dept. of Printed Books, 318 b and c and 319 b).

Acorns, Three, with two oak leaves. Fig. 1.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Sir J. Thornton.

[B. 7437–8 (Various places, 1420–54). Prob. Italian.]

Anchor (simple type, with or without crosslet at base). Fig. 2.

St. Andrews Letter-book 1440, 1443.
Durham Chapter. Undated letter, early fifteenth century.
Paston letter 1457 (long and slender with circle at base).
Caxton books, 1484 and undated.
Lyndewode, Oxford, *c.* 1485.

[B. 346, &c. N.E. France (Champagne, &c.); see Le Clert, p. 463 (used solely at Troyes ?).]

Anchor in Circle.

Caxton: Festiv. Lib. 1483, and Statutes Henry VII.

[B. 454–58, Piedmont ?; *or* 459–63, Venice.]

Anvil, with cross above. Fig. 3.

Letter to Archbp. of Canterbury 1449 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 5953–6. Italy, perhaps Fabriano.]

Arms, France, t below. Fig. 5.

Paston letters, 1475, 1477, 1477–8, 1479.
Caxton books, various.
Lyndewode, Oxford, *c.* 1485.

[B. 1741, &c. Le Clert, p. 375 and fig. 170 (used by Jean Le Bé, of Troyes).]

Arms, France, per bend, on a chief three roundles (or lozenges ?), fleuron above. Fig. 6.

Paston letters, 1487–8, 1488.

[B. 1808. A nearly similar mark, with C below, is assigned by Le Clert (p. 284, and fig. 48) to Chatonru of Troyes.]

Arms, quarterly, Fleur-de-lis and Dolphin, crown above.

Caxton books, 1482, 1485, &c.

[B. 1655–7, mostly France, 1477–1500.]

Arms, Troyes (or Champagne), with cross above shield, t below. Fig. 7.

Caxton books, various.

[B. 1043. Troyes. Le Clert, Fig. 355, p. 471, the mark being there assigned to the mill of Sancey-Saint-Julien.]

Arms, Valencia (two pales on lozenge-shaped shield, crowned). Fig. 8.

Paston letters, before 1459, 1470.

Caxton books, 1477, 1483 (similar, but with fesses instead of pales).

[B. 2064–8. Origin uncertain.]

Basilisk. See Wyvern.

Bell, normal shape. Fig. 9.

Letter to Bp. of Durham, 1420 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 4081 or 4086. Prob. France.]

—, intermediate type.

Paston letter, 1443.

[Somewhat like B. 4076. Italy.]

—, elongated, with parallel attachments. Fig. 10.

St. Andrews letter-book, 1440.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Stellingboro', late fourteenth century.

[B. 3959–85. Prob. N. Italy, perhaps Venice (current in Germany also).]

Bird (goose or swan).
Caxton: Virgil, 1490.
[Somewhat like B. 12155. N. Italy?]

— (Dove?). Fig. 11.
Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (in early section).
[B. 12181. Found in S. France, Netherlands, &c.]

Boot. Fig. 13.
Dover Accounts, 1345 (Hunter).
[B. 2828 *or* 2830. Prob. Italian.]

Bow and Arrow. Fig. 12.
English Household Book, *c.* 1370 (Hunter).
[B. 779–99. Italy (Fabriano, &c.).]

Bull, Demi-. Fig. 16.
Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (about middle of volume).
Paston letter, 1466.
[B. 2739–41. Prob. Piedmont.]

Bull, whole. One as Fig. 15.
Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (different forms in various parts of volume).
Paston letters, 1452, 1455, 1459, and undated.
[B. 2772–2801. N. Italy and S.W. France.]

Bull's Head. Style of Fig. 17, without flower.
Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (near end).
[B. 14337? Piedmont or Cent. or S. France.]

Bull's Head, with St. Andrew's Cross above. Figs. 14, 18.
Paston letters, many dates, 1444–79.
Caxton books, 1477, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1486.
[Used in many different regions and not easily localized. Some fall into B.'s group 1 (including one assigned to Troyes) but more into group 4. In the

latter, the most usual type (B. 15039–15112) is thought to be from S. France or Piedmont. A special form (B. 15103–12) with small circle between the horns may be from Avignon.]

Bull's Head, with star.

Paston letter, 1476–7.
Caxton books, 1481, 1482, 1483 (two), 1486, and undated.

[A variety of the previous form, probably from same regions.]

Bull's Head, with flower. Fig. 17.

Durham Chapter. Letter of Thos. Urswycke from Lytham, Lancs. Early fifteenth century ?

[Sim. to B. 14401–2 (dates 1430–55). The similar type without flower is thought to be from Piedmont, or from Cent. or S. France.]

Bull's Head, with T (or 'tau' cross ?). Fig. 19.

Caxton books, 1482, 1483.
Lyndewode, Oxford, *c.* 1485.

[B. 15152–83. Possibly from near Basel, but some have the small circle as in the group assigned to Avignon.]

Cap with Fleur-de-lis. Fig. 20.

Paston letters, 1444, 1450, 1456, 1459.
Letter in Tower, 1453 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 9).

[B. 2825. Prob. Piedmont.]

—, another form (or crown ?). Fig. 21.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (in first half of book).

[B. 2823 ? Perhaps Piedmont.]

Cart, two-wheeled. Fig. 22.

Lincoln Cathedral, Thornton MS., before 1451 (Sotheby tracing).
Tower letter, 1467–72 (ditto).
Paston letters, 1469, 1470, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475.

[B. 3528, &c. Used both at Fabriano (Cent. Italy) and at Cuneo (Piedmont).]

Church.

Letter of Richard III, 1484 (Sotheby tracing).

[Not in B.]

Circle, cross above.

(*a*) Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Durham [1438–57].

(*b*) Paston letters, 1450, 1464–6, 1486–95 (slightly different forms).

[(*a*) B. 3033–8. N. Italy.]

Circles, Two, flanking vertical line with crosses.

English Household Book, *c.* 1370 (Hunter).

[Not in B. ? A two-wheeled cart.]

— —, vertical, with cross above.

Kent document, 1380 (Hunter).

[B. 3159, &c. Italy, perhaps copied in Champagne.]

Column.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Bamburgh. Early fifteenth century.

Paston letters, 1451, 1461–9.

[B. 4352, &c. S. France or Piedmont.]

—, cross above. Fig. 23.

Paston letters, 1451–6, 1460.

[B. 4358–9. Prob. S. France, perhaps Avignon.]

—, crown above. Fig. 24.

Paston letters, 1478–9.

[B. 4399. ? Italy or S. France.]

Cross, botonny-fitchy. Fig. 25.

Tower letter, 1452–3 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 117).

[B. 5634. France (Champagne or Lorraine).]

Cross, rustic. Fig. 26.
Paston letter, 1461 or 1462.
[Sim., B. 5622. Italy.]

Crossbow.
Letter to Bp. of Durham, 1420 (Sotheby tracing).
[B. 723–5. Champagne.]

Crown, with centre-piece of lance-heads. Fig. 27.
St. Andrews Letter-book, 1436–7.
Tower document, 1464–5 (Sotheby tracing).
Durham Chapter. Letter from Carlisle. Early fifteenth century ?
Paston letters, 1461, 1466–9, 1469, 1470, 1475–6, 1476–7.
Rochester document, 1452–3 (Denne).
English Heraldic MS., n.d. (Sotheby sale, Feb. 1923).
[B. 4636–48. Of wide distribution, perhaps made in Piedmont.]

—. See also *Cap*.

Crozier (?).
Paston letter, 1465. [Not in B.]

— (another form). Fig. 28.
Document of Duke of Bedford, n.d. (Sotheby tracing).
[Sim. to B. 5788. France.]

— *and Horn*.
Caxton : *Canterbury Tales*, first edn.
[B. 5803. N.E. France (Barrois).]

Dog. Fig. 30.
Paston letter, 1470–79.
Durham Chapter : Letter of Cardinal Beaufort, from Wilmington, after 1425.
Caxton books, various dates.
[B. 3609 on. Some Italian, some from Champagne (Caxtons from latter).]

Dog's Head and Bowl. Fig. 29.

Paston letter, 1476.

[Not in B.]

Dolphin, Fleur-de-lis above. Fig. 32.

Durham Chapter. Letter written from Milford. Early fifteenth century?

Lincoln Cathedral. MS. of R. Thornton before 1451 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 39, and tracing).

[B. 5892–5. Prob. S. of France or Piedmont.]

Fleur-de-lis, florencée. Figs. 31, 35.

(*a*) Henry V to Bp. of Durham, 1418.

(*b*) Letter to same (larger form) (Sotheby tracings).

[(*a*) B. 7273. France; (*b*) B. 7271–2. Italy.]

—, crowned. Fig. 34.

Paston letter, 1434.

[B. 7231. France or Lorraine.]

— — (with J. B. below). Fig. 33.

Edward IV to Duke of Brittany, from Windsor, bef. 1483 (Sotheby tracing); Canterbury, 1480 (Briquet).

[B. 7251. Le Clert, Fig. 168 (Mark of Jean Le Bé, of Troyes).]

— on shield, with label, Cross of the Passion above. Fig. 4.

Caxton books: various dates.

[B. 1541 on. Mainly France, 1428 on.]

Flower (?), in Double Circle (or a wheel?). Fig. 36.[1]

Paston letter, 1495.

Golden Legend (W. de Worde), 1499.

[B. 6608. Mark of John Tate, Hertford.]

[1] Tracing sent by Prof. I. Masson, Durham University.

Flower (periwinkle?), with cross. Fig. 37.

Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury [1427–37].

Paston letter, 1467–9.

[B. 6382–91. Italian, prob. Venetian.]

— with leaves (2 varieties). Figs. 41, 43.

Paston letters, 1452, 1459, 1460, 1476–9.

[B. 6645, &c. Italian.]

Fool's Cap (?). Fig. 38.

Caxton books, undated. [Not in B.]

Foot, Human.

St. Andrews Letter-book, 1417. Fig. 40.

[B. 12408. Uncertain; occurs Lautrec 1431.]

Paston letter, 1474. Fig. 39. [Not in B.]

Fruit.

English MS. 1337 (Hunter).

[B. 7328, &c. Italian.]

— with leaves. Figs. 44, 45.

(Pear-shaped.)

Letters in Tower, 1370–1, 1390–2 (Sotheby tracings).

Account of voyage to Normandy, 1360 (Hunter).

[B. 7349, &c. Italian. Some possibly Troyes (see Le Clert, p. 452).]

(Pomegranate?)

English Household Book, *c.* 1370 (Hunter).

[B. 7397, &c. Prob. Italian, some perhaps Troyes.]

Goat (or Bull?). Fig. 42.

Letter, Henry VI to Archbp. of Canterbury [1443–50] (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 115).

[B. 2820 (Nantes 1449).]

Goat's Head (or Bull's).

Paston letters, 1444, 1440–50, 1469–70.

[B. 15206?, classed as Bull's. France or Piedmont.]

Grapes, with slender stalk, in loop. Fig. 49.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (middle of book).
Paston letters, 1454, before 1460.

[B. 13037, &c. Piedmont; but tentatively claimed for Troyes by Le Clert (p. 469).]

— in leafy branch. Fig. 50.

Paston letters, 1462, 1473.
Letter in Tower, 1472–3; MS. 1475 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 13056, Prob. Piedmont.]

Hand or Glove, with star or fleuron, fingers together or separate. Figs. 46, 47.

Paston letters, various dates, 1462–1503.
Caxton books, various dates.
Pynson: *Canterbury Tales*, 1491.
Letter of Henry VII, 1506 (Sotheby tracing).

[These belong to groups showing general similarity, making localization difficult. Those in Caxtons come near B. 10711, 10714, 11151, and 11158; one in the Paston letters to B. 11164 or 11167. Most appear to be from Piedmont (Pignerolo) or Genoa, rather than S.W. France.]

— — small, cross below. Fig. 51.

Letter to Bp. of Bath [1433–43] (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 8).

[B. 10687. Piedmont or S. France.]

Hand, with cuff, mostly with fleuron above. Fig. 48.

Paston letters, *c.* 1490–1500 (with fleuron).
Caxton books, 1483–6 (some without fleuron).

[B. 11399 on. N.E. France. Le Clert assigns the mark to several Troyes makers (see Pl. XLV, XLVIII, LXI, and p. 473).]

Hand, Blessing.

Paston letter, 1487–95.

[B.'s group V. French (one only Venetian ?).]

Head, Human. Figs. 54, 55.

(*a*) Henry VI to Bp. of Bath [1432–43] (Sotheby tracing).

(*b*) Paston letter, 1461.

[(*a*) B. 15622, &c. Italy; (*b*) B. 15629–38 ? Piedmont or S. France.]

Horn, with thong. Fig. 52.

Letter to R. Scroope, *c.* 1380; to Bp. of Durham, 1421 (Sotheby tracings).

Durham Chapter. Letter from Archdn. of Northumberland, *c.* 1430.

Paston letters, 1463–6, 1464.

[Huchet of B. The forms are generally similar and difficult to localize; the above probably Italian.]

Horse's Head.

Durham Chapter. Undated letter referring to 'John of Lincoln' as presentee to Howden.

[B. 15561–73. Italian.]

Keys, crossed, in different forms, two as in Figs. 59, 60.

Paston letters, 1460, 1469–70, 1477.

[B. 3855–9 and 3867–70. Perhaps Piedmont. (The intermediate example, Fig. 59, not in B.)]

Keys, parallel, back to back. Fig. 61.

Caxton books, *Jason* and *Descr. of Britain.*

[B. 3818, &c. Champagne. Le Clert, p. 468, says prob. from a mill of the Chapter of St. Pierre at Troyes.]

Lamb, Paschal, with halo. Fig. 56.

Caxton: *Golden Legend,* 1483.

Paston letter, 1485.

[B. 26. Prob. Lorraine, Alsace, or Vosges.]

Letter C. Fig. 53.
Paston letter, 1465–6.
[B. 8108–11. S. of France.]

Letters DP joined. Fig. 58.
Caxton: *Jason*, [1477].
[B. 9744–9771. E. or S.E. France.]

Letter M, cross above. Fig. 57.
Durham Chapter. Letter of H. Bowet, before 1401.
[B. 8341–54. Italian.]

Letter P, Gothic. Two forms as in Figs. 62, 63.
Durham Chapter. Letter from Kendal. Early fifteenth century?
Paston letters, various, 1472–1500.
Caxton books, various.
[B. 8519 on. A mark with many variations, current in many different regions. Said to have been used by Piétrequin of Troyes. The Durham ex. (fig. 63) corresponds to B. 8692, thought to be from Piedmont.]

Letter R, cross above. Fig. 64.
Durham Chapter. Letters from Bp. of Salisbury [1388–95] and Bp. of Norwich [1446–50].
English document, *c.* 1370 (Hunter).
[B. 8924–46. Italian.]

Letter T (small).
Paston letter, 1487.
[B. 9116? Uncertain.]

Letter Y, Gothic. Fig. 65.
Paston letters, 1475, 1477, 1478, (another style) 1483.
Caxton books, 1480, 1483, 1484, and undated.
[B. 9165, &c. N.E. France. (Not in Le Clert.)]

Lion, Rampant. Fig. 66.

Letter to Bp. of Winchester [1412–17] (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 10499 or 10506. Italian.]

Mounts, three, cross above. Fig. 67.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (first paper used).

[B. 11678 on. Italian.]

— — in circle, cross above.

Letter to Bp. of Exeter [1397–1400] (Sotheby tracing).
Paston letter, temp. Edward IV.

[B. 11854, &c. Italian.]

Name 'Lile' on Shield, fleur-de-lis above. Fig. 68.

Caxton: *Canterbury Tales*, 1st edn.
? Paston letter, 1477 (mark as printed possibly a misreading of above: cf. Briquet, 2045, where the letters are doubtfully read as NES.).

[B. 1886. N.E. France. Le Clert (pp. 179–82) shows that it is the mark of the 'Moulin de Lile' of Mussy-sur-Seine.]

Pillar. See *Column.*

Pope, with keys and Tiara.

Caxton: *Jason*, [1477].

[B. 7546–50. Troyes (see also Le Clert, p. 469).]

Pot or Chalice, with cover, some with cross. Fig. 70.

Paston letters, 1479 and temp. Henry VII (no cross).
Caxton books, 1477, 1480, 1483.

[B. 12476–86. Champagne. The pot (? in another style) was used by Jean Pothier, of Troyes, *c.* 1520 (Le Clert, p. 431).]

Ram's Head. Fig. 69.

Thornton MS. Lincoln Cathedral, before 1451 (Sotheby tracing).

[Roughly sim. to B. 15464, &c. Italian.]

Ring, some with star. Fig. 71.

Paston letters, *c.* 1451, 1460.
Letter to Bp. of Bath [1467–73] (Sotheby tracing).
Caxton: *Golden Legend*, 1483 (with star).
Lyndewode, Oxford, *c.* 1485 (with star).
[B. 689, 691. Piedmont (Cuneo).]

Rod (?) (Férule of Briquet).

Dover MS. book, 1345 (Hunter).
[B. 6175, but with two arms only. Italian.]

Scales, triangular pans.

Durham Chapter. Letter of Bp. of Bath [1425–43]; Capit. Gen., 1435–56 (first half of book).
[B. 2394, &c. Italian, prob. Venetian.]

— in circle, triangular pans.

Paston letter, 1458.
[B. 2445, &c. Prob. Venetian.]

Scissors, Type 1. Fig. 72.

Paston letter, 1450.
Caxton: *Reynard*, 1481.
[B. 3744, &c. Italian (Fabriano and Genoa).]

— Type 2. Figs. 73, 74.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Lichfield, early 15th cent.
St. Andrews Letter-book, 1426–31.
Paston letters, 1455, 1471.
Caxton books, 1482, 1483.
Caxton: *Golden Legend*, 1483 (with fleuron).
Lyndewode, Oxford, *c.* 1485 (with fleuron).
[B. 3663, &c., 3731. Italian (Fabriano and Genoa).]

Serpent. Fig. 75.

Letter to Archbp. of Canterbury, 1447 (Sotheby tracing).
Paston letters, 1454, (smaller) 1468.
[B. 13659, &c. Milan District.]

Ship.

Paston letter, temp. Henry VII.
Caxton: *Directorium Sacerdotum*, n.d.; *Virgil*, 1490.
[B. 11971? Prob. Troyes (but not in Le Clert).]

Siren, with mirror. Fig. 76.

Caxton book, 1477.
[B. 13857–9. French, prob. Champagne (cf. Le Clert, p. 468).]

Stag, Rampant.

Durham Chapter. Letter of T. Langley, Bp. of Durham [1406–36], from London.
[B. 3296, &c. Italian.]

—, *Passant.* Style of Fig. 77.

Ibid. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury, before 1438.
[B. 3302–3. Uncertain.]

Stag's Head.

(*a*) Letter to J. Searle [1399–1403] (Sotheby tracing). Fig. 80.
(*b*) Caxton books, 1486 and undated.
[(*a*) B. 15488, &c. Italian; (*b*) B. 15545. Differs from normal Ital. or French types: found at Troyes, but more often in Holland.]

Star, 6-rayed, with cross above. Fig. 79.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Howden. Early fifteenth century?
[B. 6044 (dates 1412–19). Italian (occurs at Fabriano, &c.).]

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Star, 8-rayed, with crown above. Fig. 78.
Paston letter, 1485.
Caxton books, 1480 and undated.
[B. 6116, &c. Prob. Champagne; see also Le Clert, pl. XLIV, Fig. 176 (attributed to Guillaume Le Bé, of Troyes); here the rays are wavy, and the sun may be intended.]

Sun, wavy rays. Fig. 83.
Hylton: *Scala Perfectionis* (W. de Worde), 1494.
Durham Chapter. Curia capit. Burgi de Crocegate, 1498–1524 (throughout).
[B. 13929-30, 13940, French. Le Clert, no. 175, a mark of G. Le Bé.]

— with IHS. One as Fig. 84.
Paston letters, 1450, 1465–6.
[B. 9478, 9480, the latter prob. from Piedmont.]

Tower, single.
Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury [1427–37].
[B. 15869, &c. Italian.]

Unicorn, Passant, French type. Fig. 81.
Tower Letter of 1451 (Sotheby tracing).
Paston letters, 1473, 1479, 1487, 1491.
Caxton books, 1483, 1489, and undated.
[B. 9979 on. France, various, including Troyes. Cf. Le Clert, pp. 426–31 and pl. LVIII–LX (marks of Piétrequin of Troyes).]

Unicorns' Heads, two, back to back. Fig. 87.
Paston letter, 1440.
Tower documents, 1443, &c. (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 71).
[B. 15839-43. Italian.]

Wheel, Toothed.[1] Figs. 82, 85, 86.
(*a*) Tower letter [1443–50] (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 53). With crank.

[1] Generally taken for St. Catherine's wheel, but Mr. W. A. Churchill suggests that it is rather that by which the rags were mashed in the paper-mills.

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(*b*) Paston letters, 1460, 1468, 1474–5.
(*c*) Ditto 1489 (with flowers (?) above, no crank).
(*d*) Caxton book, 1489 (with star above).

[(*a*) B. 13275; (*b*) B. 13252, 13294, &c.; (*c*) cf. B. 13362; (*d*) B. 13356. All French, esp. Auvergne.]

Wyvern (Basilisk of Briquet). Fig. 88.

Henry VI to Archbp. of Canterbury, 1453 (Sotheby tracing).[1]

[B. 2660, &c. Italian.]

Summarizing the information at present available, we note that—as has indeed long been recognized—much of the paper formerly used in this country was Italian—as was only natural in view of the priority of that country in paper-making. Sotheby himself was aware that some of the paper in early English books was Italian, and in an article in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. xiii (quoted by Dr. McKerrow in his 'Introduction to Bibliography'), Dr. P. H. Aitken mentioned that of the paper in the archives of the Drapers' Company, all dating from the early part of the fifteenth century was Italian, and all from the end of that century French. But some caution is here necessary, as there is ground for thinking that some of the early Italian marks were closely copied by the paper-makers of Troyes in Champagne.[2] A good deal of paper with such marks is to be found in the local records of Troyes, and it is hardly likely that such paper should have been imported from Italy into that paper-making centre. However this may be, this country derived a large supply from Italy, and the wreck off Dunster of a vessel from Genoa with twenty bales of paper in its cargo (as early as 1380) is recorded.

[1] Many other English occurrences might no doubt be found. It is met with in accounts kept at Bordeaux during the English occupation, 1378 and 1411 (Hunter).

[2] In the late sixteenth century the distinctly Italian mark of the crossed arrows appears to have been used also at Troyes.

But by no means all of such paper was necessarily of Genoese make, for Genoa would be the natural port of shipment for paper from other parts of north Italy, especially Piedmont.

Besides the marks doubtfully attributed to Troyes, there are many others found in English documents which certainly denote paper made in that region, which for a time became perhaps the main source of supply to this country. This is sufficiently explained by the importance of the Troyes fair, to which traders flocked from all parts. The long occupation of the town by the English might also be thought to have encouraged the import of paper thence, were it not that this became important only somewhat later.

Considering the long occupation of Aquitaine by the English, it is remarkable how small is the evidence for any large supply of paper to us from south-west France, at least in the period in question. Possibly, however, some of the paper attributed to southern France, alternatively or side by side with Piedmont, may have been exported through Bordeaux. As is natural, but little seems to have been obtained from Auvergne or central France, and, what is more surprising, little or none from north-west France, from which in later times much of our paper appears to have come.

There is little if any trace of a supply from Germany or the Rhine countries before 1500, unless some of the paper marked with the bull's head came from south Germany, where the mark was much used, in a rather special form. Apart from John Tate's mark, only one of those in our list—Fig. 19—is definitely attributed to a region neither French nor Italian.

If the imperfect data in the foregoing list justify any attempt to gauge the relative importance of the French and Italian supplies on a numerical basis, we find that, taking the period as a whole, the Italian is decidedly in the ascendant. If we assign doubtful attributions (as between France and Italy) to both countries alike, the total of marks reaches 51 for Italy,

as against 40 for France. If we consider the first part of the period only (down to *c.* 1450) the advantage goes still more strikingly to Italy, the relative numbers being 41 and 11, and a part of the latter may have really been from Piedmont. After 1450 the position changes, and between that year and 1500 we get only 25 Italian as against 31 French, a good many of the early Italian papers having apparently dropped out of the running. This bears out the facts recorded by Dr. Aitken in regard to the records of the Drapers' Company.

If we attempt to distinguish the sources of supply *within* the two leading countries, we find that Piedmont takes an easy lead, so far as the papers are assigned to any particular region of modern Italy, though many of those classed merely as Italian may come from the peninsula. Only two or three (particularly the hand and the scissors) are definitely associated with Genoa and its neighbourhood, and about the same number with Venice and (possibly) Fabriano respectively. Of the French paper-making districts, Troyes, or Champagne as a whole, comes decidedly to the fore in the later period, 18 papers out of a total of 31 being assigned to that region. (It will have been noticed that a good many of the Caxton papers were from Troyes, though others were still from Italy.) The only other French competitors—and these hopelessly outdistanced—are the south of France and Lorraine with the Barrois.

These conclusions must be regarded, however, as tentative only, in view of the somewhat limited nature of the data used.

A consideration of the sources of supply in the sixteenth century, which, again, show a certain shifting, must be left for another occasion.

Note.—The figures of marks have all been reduced to half-scale. Some have necessarily been copied by eye only, and may be not quite correct in small details. Where a single document is assigned in the list to a period of years, it is to be understood as falling somewhere within the limits given.